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# How Latin Americans View the Monroe Doctrine

BY FREDERIC J. HASKIN

NASMUCH as the avowed intention of the famous American protective policy, known as the Monroe Doctrine, is the unrestricted development of the South American republics, a glance at prevailing conditions and a general summing up of results will not be untimely. First it may be well to note what the government of the United States has done towards assisting our southern neighbors in their effort to establish themselves. In their behalf we have time and again dared the greatest powers in the world, volunteering to take upon ourselves the horrors of war when we were ill prepared for such sacrifice. We have lived up to Monroe's declaration in defending them. This great fact cannot be denied.

## We Have Kept the Faith.

Furthermore, we have spent many millions of dollars in protecting our own citizens in these turbulent republics; we have followed the dictates of humanity by giving asylum to men ex-patriated from their own countries; we have assisted hundreds of helpless women and children, transferring them to our war vessels and transporting them to places of safety; we have chartered harbors, made expensive soundings, and established buoys in the interest of navigation. No one can deny that in maintaining our attitude toward them we have practiced much sympathy and patience, and have, as Mr. Hay says, tried to be guided by the golden rule. Whatever may be said, it is certain that we have successfully guarded them from outside interference; that they have had the opportunity to work their way without hindrance.

Now what have they done with this chance? It does not require a close observer to discover failure, and that of the most pronounced sort. In searching for causes no excuse can be had from lack of natural resources. The empire of South America has 7,675,000 square miles. Its chief extent is not in the frozen arctic regions, but in the warm and richness of the tropics. Brazil alone has 3,260,000 square miles of territory, exceeding the size of the United States, exclusive of Alaska. Chile measures from north to south almost as far as from New York to San Francisco. Argentina is 40 per cent larger than our own territory east of the Mississippi. Yet the entire population of South America does not exceed 40,000,000 people. There are only five persons to the square mile, against twenty-five in the United States, seventeen in Mexico and eighteen in Central America.

## Heavy Debts All Over.

The public debt of all countries in South America amounts to \$1,340,000,000, which is \$35 per capita, while our own is less than \$15. Uruguay alone has \$158 indebtedness per capita, and Argentina \$129; the interest on this debt being \$62,000,000 or more than a quarter of the entire yearly revenues. There is not a single one of these republics but what is so heavily mortgaged that it cannot call itself its own.

And every one of these governments regards lightly its heavy indebtedness, openly depending on the Monroe Doctrine to extricate it from any and all differences in which it may become embroiled. The most astute southern statesmen, men of learning and intelligence, insist upon constraining our policy to mean that no coercive measures may be exercised by Europe, or any other country, for the purpose of compelling payment of just debts of any sort, and this view is very generally held by the Latin-Americans, despite the extensive diplomatic correspondence between this country and the foremost southern republics. Our South American friends seem never to have heard when our statesmen so repeatedly declared that we should not shield any nation from the consequences of the wrong doing. This is the answer of the American people to the suggestion that it is a violation of the Monroe Doctrine to employ force for the purpose of obtaining respectful consideration for just debts, or redressing real grievances. The only limitation upon the expression is that there shall be no attempt in the part of coercive powers to acquire or permanently to control any way the territory or destiny of an American republic.

## The Official Way.

After one has experience in South America he is no longer surprised at the bad management of the governments, because the manner of conducting all business transactions, both public and private, is not conducive to confidence or stable conditions. Dishonesty is universal. The public official regards his office as a private opportunity and seldom loses time in profiting by it. The private citizen makes his bargain according to his estimate of your

A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN OF CHILE



ONE OF BRAZIL'S BLACK DAUGHTERS.



A COMELY LITTLE BARBARIAN.



THE ROUGH AND READY COWBOY.



FROM THE STOLID INDIAN STOCK.

money, taking no receipt. Afterward he explained that he had given the official a bribe of \$50 to keep him from raising the taxes from \$150 to \$400. Was he not justified in making an expenditure

of half a hundred to save two hundred? That is the official procedure as it is regarded in South America. Once while I was crossing a stream on a ferry, where the fare was a cent, a passenger said to the conductor:

"Charge him a quarter; he's got on a white shirt." That afternoon I sent a suit to the tailor shop. Later when I came through the hotel office the man was waiting with his bill. He said it was cheap enough at a dollar

with \$2 worth of repairing, which I had not ordered and which was not needed. Investigation revealed a bright stripe down each leg of the trousers. He said it was cheap enough at a dollar a stripe. I lived for several weeks

at the best hotel in South America. When I asked for my bill I took me just half a day to verify it, but I made \$42 by weeding out the overcharges, and that was not bad for a rainy afternoon.

## An Item of Eggs.

South American landlords charge extra for morning meals. A Yankee machinery salesman was settling up at the same time with me. There was an item of \$5 for eggs on his bill. He said to the clerk: "See here, you have charged me with a case of eggs. I only had about a dozen of them. I really don't need any more, but so long as you've made the sale, if you'll deliver the rest of them I'll settle." These are neither unusual nor extravagant examples of the business methods of our southern neighbors. Their rule seems to be: "Charge all you want and collect all you can." When bribery becomes the rule rather than the exception in administering public matters, and when private affairs are transacted almost altogether on a sliding scale of prices, it is not surprising that the institutions of a people become unsound.

While it is very evident that the South Americans are not progressing as they should, it is equally obvious that they feel no gratitude to the United States government for its defensive measures in their behalf. They are worse than ungrateful. They are hostile. Their public speakers offer open affront to Americans, while their writers are outspoken in their animosity to the United States. Both speakers and writers know the sentiment of their audiences, so that applause and appreciation are never lacking.

In Brazil a mob assailed a store and bedaubed mud on the display windows because this sign was printed on the glass: "English spoken here." Among the passengers on the steamer upon which I sailed from Rio de Janeiro, was an aged sister of charity who had been teaching English in the schools there for eighteen years. The edict, "no more English in the schools," had deprived her of her position. The Brazilian government declined to transact further business with the American Bank Note company for no other reason than prejudice. It paid a higher price for an inferior article merely to have the privilege of dealing in Europe. An American sent the president of Argentina a thoroughbred bull. It was a splendid animal and a fine gift, but it was shot by the Yankee-hating officials of what is said to be the most advanced republic of South America.

## All Are Unfriendly.

Chile never loses an opportunity to take a slap at the North Americans. Peru's encouraging attitude is due more from fear of further encroachments by Chile, than from any real friendliness for us. She would rather sell out cheap to the Yankees than be robbed by the Chileans. Whatever objection might be raised against the recent action of our government in Panama, there is scarcely anyone ready to contend that Colombia acted in good faith with us; and he would indeed be a guileless person who believes that the notorious Mr. Castro, of Venezuela, has any respect for the Monroe doctrine, further than to use it to his purposes in dodging his honest obligations.

In summing up, several conclusions may be drawn, namely, while our protection to the Latin-American republics has been accomplished at all odds, it has not resulted in that development which was hoped for, and which prompted the formation of such a policy. It is even unfruitful of the friendly spirit that it should naturally create among those whom it benefits. Therefore Europe is emboldened in its opposition. It needs this vast section for its surplus population. It says that we are proposing to make greater the Monroe doctrine for the sake of republics which in reality do not exist, and which every intelligent man knows do not exist. It asks if we have made life sweeter or more prosperous in any of these countries; if we have caused settlers to come, the forests to be conquered, or the soil to be tilled, and so on.

## "America For Americans."

The answer to all this is that the opportunity for independent development has been given to South America, and that it still has that opportunity. If it continues to neglect its destiny, as it has in the past, it can blame no one for its pittance but itself. If the people of the southern climes are content to fritter away their golden opportunities, the time may come when civilization will call them to an accounting. When that time comes the government of the United States will hardly require the assistance of any European authority in adjudicating their tangled affairs. If the governments of South America should fall altogether, there need be no change in the interpretation of the Monroe doctrine. The Hague put upon the Monroe doctrine. It would mean then, as it means now, "America for the Americans."

# BURGLARY COMMITTED BY ORDER OF THE KING

WHEN the late King Malletto of Samoa was experiencing his first trouble with Germany, and the agents of that power were stirring his subjects to rebellion, he was extremely anxious to thoroughly arm his forces and cope with the rebels, who, it was well known, were being secretly supplied with arms and ammunition by a Hamburg house whose headquarters were in Apia. This was a direct violation of the agreement entered into by the consular representatives of England, Germany, the United States and France, that no subjects of those nationalities residing in Samoa should sell arms or ammunition to Malletto and his followers or to the rebel party.

The rebels were daily increasing in strength, and boasted that before long they would capture and loot Apia and kill all Europeans who favored Malletto. Matters were in a very critical state when there one day sailed into Apia harbor a barkentine of 500 tons, named the Venus, and in less than an hour the news spread like wildfire that she had on board some thousands of Snider rifles and some hundreds of Winchester cartridges, together with an ample supply of ammunition, and ere long the vessel was surrounded by canoes filled with many hundreds of excited natives, all eager to buy fana tatata manava (breach-loading rifles). But the consuls had been before them, and had warned the master and supercargo of the Venus that if a single rifle was sold they would seize the vessel and detain it.

—until the arrival of an English ship of war.

The supercargo, who was a nice, pleasant-spoken young man, frankly admitted that it was a great and unexpected disappointment to him not to be able to dispose of the arms, as he would now have to carry them about over the Pacific for another three or four months, as the ship was bound on a long trading voyage throughout the Gilbert, Marshall and Caroline groups, and then finally take them back to Sydney.

"And then I shall get into hot water with the owners," he said, ruefully, "as I don't suppose I shall be able to sell more than a hundred or so of the guns in the Gilberts and Marshalls." Then he asked the consuls if they would be so good as to clear the ship of the natives. "If you won't let me sell my guns, gentlemen, you can at least save me the annoyance of having the vessel's deck filled with natives. Besides that, it is Sunday, and I'm going ashore to church."

The consuls stared at the young gentleman had formerly resided for some years in Samoa, and had by no means achieved distinction for his religious tendencies, which were absolutely nil.

"I think," said the German consul, who was a very witty and astute personage, "that the best thing would be for a guard of the municipal police to remain on board until you sail."

"Just the very thing, Herr Weber," said Mr. Supercargo effusively; and orders were sent on shore for the police boat to come off, and the German consul felt satisfied—Malletto would get no arms from the Venus at any rate. I must mention that the English and American resident merchants were

strongly in favor of King Malletto, and had they dared, would have supplied him with all the arms he wanted. This matter arranged, the consuls inquired what other cargo the Venus had under hatches, and were all delighted to learn that the bulk of it was provisions, for the town was very short of European food, and the white men and their families had been without such necessary supplies as flour, sugar, beer and whisky for two months. This was owing to a large German ship named the Anna, which was loaded with stores, having been lost on the

voyage from Sydney to Apia. They all at once begged the supercargo to quote his prices. He shook his head and smiled—almost sadly.

"No, no, gentlemen. You must give me a chance with my provisions if you won't with the guns. I must first find out tomorrow how prices are going on shore, and then we can talk business. But not today. I've made a rule of late not to do business of any kind on Sundays."

The consuls retired, feeling somewhat annoyed; still, they could not blame the pleasant-mannered young gentleman for looking after his own interests. However, he was thoughtful enough to give them a couple of cases of beer, a case of whisky and some delicacies from the cabin stores to take ashore with them. Then, after they had gone, he sat down and wrote a note to a Samoan to His Majesty King Malletto, making an appointment with him and his chiefs at a little bush village named Tagi a Manono at 8 o'clock that evening. At 10:30 he attended service in the little mission church on Vaisigago creek, and an hour after it was over he was strolling down to

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